

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 2943

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SECDEF IMMEDIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:MPOL, NATO, DPC

SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO: DPC MINISTERIAL RESTRICTED SESSION, MAY 23

BEGIN SUMMARY.

DPC MINISTERS CONTINUED MAY 23 DEBATE ON REFERENCE TO SPAIN
IN DPC COMMUNIQUE. RESULT WAS LINE-UP IN WHICH US EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE
MENTION OF SPAIN HAD ATTRACTED RELUCTANT MAJORITY, LEAVING NETHERLANDS,

NORWAY AND DENMARKED OPPOSED. COMPROMISE FORMULATION WON GENERAL
AGREEMENT AND WAS ACCEPTED BY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER MAINLY IN ORDER
TO DAMPEN FURTHER MEDIA REPORTS OF ALLIED DIVISION ON ISSUE OF
SAPEIN WHICH DOMINATED REPORTING ON MINISTERIAL MEETING END SUMMARY.

1. MOST OF THE MORNING SESSION OF THE DPC ON MAY 23 WAS CONTINUATION
OF THE RESTRICTED SESSION DEBATE ON SPAIN.

2. DANISH DEFENSE MINISTER MOLLER OPENED THE DISUSSION BY URGING
THAT NO MENTION OF SPAIN BE MADE IN THE COMMUNIQUE. THE SECRETARY
GERNERAL SAID THERE WERE TWO MAJOR THINGS WRONG WITH THIS--ONE, THAT
THE SUBJECT HAD CONSUMED MORE TIME THAN ANYTHING ELSE DURING THIS
MEETING OF THE DPC AND TWO IN ANY EVENT IT WAS IN THE PRESS OF THE
WORLD AND THE NATO SPOKESMAN HAD TO HAVE SOMETHING IN THE COMMUNIQUE
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TO REFER TO.

3. THE GERMAN MINISTER (LEBER) URGED A SIMPLE SENTENCE THAT COULD
SERVE THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REQUIREMENTS. THE ITALIAN MINISTER

(FORLANI), WHO HAD NOT SPOKEN THE DAY BEFORE, STRONGLY SUPPORTED LEBER'S SUGGESTION AND THE SIMILAR ONE THAT HAD BEEN MADE BY THE UK MINISTER ON THE PREVIOUS DAY. FORLANI SAID THAT HE, TO THE SAME EXTENT AS HIS SCANDINAVIAN AND DUTCH COLLEAGUES, HAD A SERIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEM AT HOME BUT THAT HE COULD MORE EASILY EXPLAIN IF THERE WERE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE TO FALL BACK ON.

4. THE NORWEGIAN MINISTER (FOSTERVOLL) CALLED THE COMMUNIQUE A POLITICAL DOCUMENT AND SAID THERE WAS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO HAVING A MATTER DISCUSSED OR NOT DISCUSSED IN THE COMMUNIQUE, "THAT IS WHY THE AMERICANS WANT SOMETHING IN THE COMMUNIQUE AND WHY WE DON'T." HE WAS JOINED IN THESE SENTIMENTS BY DUTCH MINISTER VREDELING AND MOLLER.

5. AT THIS POINT IN DEBATE, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES

HAD THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY OF THE MINISTERS FOR A REFERENCE TO SPAIN, INCLUDING ALL OF THOSE FROM THE MAJOR COUNTRIES, AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THE OPPOSITION HAD BEEN DRIVEN DOWN TO THE THREE INTRANSIGENTS- THE NETHERLANDS, DENMARK AND NORWAY. THE SECRETARY GENERAL CONSIDERED IT ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE, AS DID CERTAIN MINISTERS, THAT SOME LANGUAGE APPEAR IN THE COMMUNIQUE AND THERE DID NOT REMAIN THE OPTION TO OMIT ANY MENTION OF SPAIN. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WAS DESIRED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND OTHERS THAT THE THREE OPPONENTS' NOT BE ALLOWED TO ENTER RESERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT IN THE COMMUNIQUE.

6. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER OBSERVED THAT IN THE ENTIRE DISCUSSION NO ONE HAD DISPUTED THE MILITARY ADVANTAGES DERIVED BY THE ALLIANCE FROM THE SPANISH US BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID IT SEEMED THE ALLIES WERE IN AGREEMENT THAT THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP MADE A CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE BUT THEY DID NOT WANT TO HAVE TO CONFESS IT PUBLICLY OR EVEN PRIVATELY. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID HE THOUGHT THE SPANISH WOULD TAKE A CLOSE LOOK AT ALL OF THE FACILITIES WHICH BENEFITTED NATO AND THAT WE WERE AT SERIOUS RISK OF LOSING SOME OR ALL OF THEM. THIS, HE CONFIDENTIAL

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SAID, WOULD BE SERIOUS, NOT FOR SPAIN AND NOT SO MUCH FOR THE UNITED STATES, BUT MOSTLY FOR THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE. HE SAID THE TENOR OF THE DEBATE IN THE DPC WAS NOT CONDUCTIVE TO AN UNALTERED USAGE OF SPANISH FACILITIES BY US FORCES.

7. THE SECRETARY GENERAL THEN CLEARED THE ROOM OF ALL BUT MINISTERS AND PERMREPS FOR DISCUSSION OF COMMUNIQUE FORMULATION ON SPAIN. THERE WAS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BY THIS TIME AMONG MAJORITY OF MINISTERS THAT SOME LANGUAGE ON SPAIN MUST APPEAR IN COMMUNIQUE, BECAUSE OF MOUNTING NEWS MEDIA INTEREST IN DEBATE ON SPAIN. IN ORDER TO HAVE ANY MENTION OF SPAIN IN THE COMMUNIQUE, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE OF THE SPECIFIC RESERVATIONS DEMANDED BY THE NETHERLANDS, DENMARK, NORWAY, AND OTHERS, IT WAS CLEARLY NECESSARY TO EXPAND

FORMULATION TO INCLUDE THE ADDED PHRASE SO THAT THE TEXT READ: "THE UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF DEFENSE INFORMED HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ON THE USE BY US FORCES OF MILITARY FACILITIES IN SPAIN, IT BEING UNDERSTOOD THAT THESE ARRANGEMENTS REMAIN OUTSIDE THE NATO CONTEXT." THIS LANGUAGE WAS ACCEPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY MINISTERS AND BECAME PART OF THE DPC COMMUNIQUE
ISSUED ON MAY 23.

3. COMMENT: PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH MINISTERS AND PERMREPS FOLLOWING THE DPC MEETING INDICATED THAT PROPONENTS AND OPPONENTS OF THE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE FELT THAT THE FIRST MENTION OF SPAIN IN A NATO COMMUNIQUE WAS A BENCHMARK EVENT. THE OPPONENTS, OF COURSE, FEARED IT WOULD PRODUCE CONTROVERSY IN THEIR COUNTRIES AND WORRIED THAT THEY WOULD BE BLAMED FOR BEING SOFT ON FRANCO'S SPAIN. THOSE WHO WISH TO SEE A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO FELT THAT THE DOOR HAS BEEN OPENED A CRACK AND THAT A PRECEDENT HAS BEEN SET FOR FUTURE DISCUSSIONS OF SPAIN AND THE CONTRIBUTION IT MAKES TO WESTERN DEFENSE.

9. MOREOVER, PRESS REPORTING ON DISCUSSION BY MINISTERS OF SPAIN, SPURRED BY VREDELING'S INDISCRETIONS IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 22--IN WHICH HE THREATENED DUTCH WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO IF SPANISH OR SOUTH AFRICAN LINKS WERE FORGED BY ALLIANCE, THREATENED TO WORK TO ALLIANCE'S PUBLIC DISADVANTAGE IF IN WAKE OF HEATED MINISTERIAL DEBATE NO MENTION WERE MADE OF SPAIN IN COMMUNIQUE. THUS, US AGREEMENT TO COMPROMISE FORMULA BOTH LIMITED FURTHER ADVERSE PRESS COMMENT
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AND ACCOMMODATED THOSE MINISTERS WHO HAD GINGERLY SUPPORTED US AGAINST ANTI-SPAIN FACTION. END COMMENT
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NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECDEF.

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